1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other
437 things which have now taken their places among the neces-
443 saries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the
361 surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
417 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE DAIRY

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There are two forms of Toda dairy. One resembles very closely the ordinary hut, and, but for its situation and the higher wall which surrounds it, it might often be supposed to be one of the huts. The vast majority of dairies are now of this form. The other kind of dairy is circular with a conical roof. There are now only three or four of these buildings in existence, though others have only fallen into ruins in recent times. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says[1] that at that time there were four, and a fifth in ruins.

The best known of these dairies is that at Nòdrs (the Manboa of Breeks), shown in Fig. 13. It has received the name of "the Toda Cathedral," and is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another (shown in Fig. 25) is at Kanòdrs (the Mutterzhva of Breeks). Both are village dairies of especial sanctity; the Nòdrs building is in full working order, while that of Kanòdrs is only occupied occasionally. A third dairy of the conical form is at the *ti* place of Anto near Sholur (the Kiurzh of Breeks) and should be regularly visited once a year, though the year in which I was on the Nilgiris was an exception. The fourth dairy of the kind (called by Breeks Tarzhva) is at Tarnòdr on the Kundahs. It is also a *ti* dairy, but is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The ruined dairy mentioned by Breeks (Katedva) is said to be still in the same condition. It was used as a *ti* dairy, and is near Makurti Peak.

There is no doubt that conical dairies were at one time more numerous. There was one at the *ti* place of Enòdr, not far from Ootacamund. There was another at the village of Kars, and the circular wall which once surrounded the dairy still remains, and has been converted into a buffalo pen.

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The various names given to the Toda dairies are at first sight very confusing. We have already seen that each kind of dairy is named according to the kind of buffalo connected with it—according to its position in the dairy-series connecting *tarvali* with *ti*. Each dairy has also its own special or indi-

[1] *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, 1873, p. 14.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv.

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity.

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*.

[1] This word, in the forms *kas*, *koath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 783 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 783 616 618 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *puzhut*, and incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *puzhut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more than any other, and may be termed his ruling passion, is that of *necessity for* children.

CHAP. XXIV.

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The first instance which came to light of the serious—everything with the Toda is taken *au sérieux*—nature of this topic, was when the women of a certain village had collected round us, in obedience to summons; one was noticed sitting conspicuously apart, giving the impression that she was in some way tabued. 'What is the matter with her? Is she sick?' 'No.' 'Mourning?' 'No, not that.' 'She is a barudi'[9] they said quietly, and in the pitying tone in which one would apply the word 'crazy.' A handsome woman of forty, with the eyes and nose of a hawk. She had committed no fault; had added several boys and girls to the population. She was not ill, nor deformed, or sulky. She was merely a barudi, a widow. Now, it is a reproach to be a widow, unless quite old: or to be childless; the word barudi, in the Toda language, bearing the triple meaning of old woman, widow, and barren woman. This person, we have seen, was neither old nor sterile, yet as a widow who should be, but was not, producing children, she was put to shame.

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To be a baruda, or widower, is equally a term of reproach for men.

Another illustration. We met with two brothers—men past sixty years of age, whose joint wife had died. In order to avoid the disgrace of being styled baruda, as well, doubtless, as to obtain the services of some one who could cook their meals, they had forthwith married again. But being elderly gentlemen, joint fathers of nine children, including twins, and not caring for further additions to their family, they had selected to be their joint wife, a woman of fifty, who, having been *discarded as sterile*, was then living a single and neglected life.

I have ascertained positively, that so great is the disgrace

[9] The derivation of this word has already been given in Chapter VII. Note 15.

582 601 618 114 some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poljoɪl are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

196 A note on the semantics of the word poljoɪl may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the polj." The most usual meaning of polj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called aɪs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ümd-voljoɪloɪvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ümd) polj (i.e. poljoɪl)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poljoɪl institution. The semantic development of polj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poljoɪl and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poljoɪl. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate paḷḷi, "building, temple."

613 539 As was said above, there are at present five sets of poljoɪl among the toɪrðas. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinuɪl of the keruɪroɪl (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The küaɪæmboljoɪl or oɪrvuɪṭɣaɪkvoljoɪl is said to be descended from küaɪæm (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poljoɪl make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (oɪr) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called puɪṭ). A crow (kaɪk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moɣðuɪtkoɪtʃvojvoljoɪl, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by [264] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poljoɪl or ŭɯɖmortkvæɪdvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯɖmortkvæɪdvoj or poljoɪl of the opposite sex.

602 533 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯɖmortkvæɪdvoj and poljoɪl of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 602 196 192 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poljoɪl or ŭɯɖmortkvæɪdvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to [833] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is [522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mɯrɣŭart–, "neck-cut," and kŭartɣŭɯrt–, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɪdjvöɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

196 521 192 602 Thus aḍð–, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also kɯ ʃt–, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nɑrtj–, "make walk," is permitted when ɯr, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[10] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb pɑʃj–, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj–, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪtj–, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again ɑtvɑt is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way pɯn, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." [841] [304] Similarly poɪθj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kɪɪpoɳt, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

578 521 These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of ɯɯdmortkvæːdvoj or poʃjoɪʃ within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

[10] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoṛ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noṛškj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnḷr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter orliṛ had married piṛkor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mōṛr patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kört(k)-kortpoṛ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 11 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the puṛs-uṛt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

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pərmaxθur,[a] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kəjniv asked what it was he was told: il-θon-ŋji puɪrotj-noɪj yst "It is just here that the puɪrotj-noɪj [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ud fintjn. 'poɲjoɪl-ɹuɪrɲjfojoɪl ŋud-mortk-fæɪdfoj-ɹuɪrɲjfojoɪlŋ puɪrotj-noɪj ysti; poɲjoɪl ŋoɪŋjti; oɪtoɪl ɹərəti' udng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The puɪrotj-noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poɲjoɪl feel shame; the oɪtoɪl laugh.' " The word poɲjoɪl was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɪl those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poɲjoɪl means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɪl, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poɲjoɪl into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poɲjoɪl occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪŋkj (cf. the verb noɪŋjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffalo[es]. [An im]portant man of the koɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuit[ies] [fr]om epite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

puɪlkɨɯɪrθoɪr	poɲjoɪl-noɪŋkj	oɪjxɨɯθɯm
pærθoɪr	oɪtoɪl-noɪŋ	oɪjxɨɯθɯm
noɪɖoɪl-noɪŋkj	oɪjxɨɯθɯm	
sɪɪmjoɪl-sɪŋ	oɪjxɨɯθɯm	

"The toɪroɪr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poɲjoɪl, the oɪtoɪl, the people of the country (noɪɖoɪl), the people of the district (sɪɪmjoɪl; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poɲjoɪl and the oɪtoɪl together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poɲjoɪl and oɪtoɪl have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[a] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Padmanabhaiah: pp. 398-400); his account is in general incomplete.

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In another passage a man carried off the wife of another man, but she was recovered by her husband with the help of other men, and the abductor says:

poɭjoɯ-ɲoɪlkj	æɪfɯnen
oɪɪoɯ-foɲt	æɪfɯnen
noɪɪoɯ-ɲoɪlkj	æɪfɯnen
ɨɨɪmjoɯ-ɨig	æɪfɯnen

"I have become ashamed before the poɭjoɯ; I have become a word [i.e. a subject for ridicule] before the oɪɪoɯ; I have become ashamed before the people of the country, I have become ashamed before the people of the district." Here again, though the use of pont "word" with oɪɪoɯ seems to suggest a dichotomy of the tribe similar to that in the prose passage above, so that the man's poɭjoɯ would be ashamed along with him, the two final sentences imply an interpretation like that of the passage just discussed. The poɭjoɯ and the oɪɪoɯ together are the Todas before whom he is ashamed, and are of no pertinence here except in their conventional connection with feelings of shame.

In two other passages we seem at first sight to get nearer to literal meanings. A woman laments her daughter, who died an untimely death before she had borne children. She says:

poɭjoɯk-noɪlkj	æɪfɯnen
oɪɪoɯk-foɲt	æɪfɯnen

"I have become ashamed before the poɭjoɯ; I have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪɪoɯ." It was explained that the lamenting woman now has no daughter and is considered unlucky by the people. This explanation need imply no more than that all the people, indicated with no special pertinence by poɭjoɯ and oɪɪoɯ, think her unlucky and that she has feelings of shame before them on this account. Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and their branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before her matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way.

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Again, a woman bore a daughter to her husband, but no sons. He began negotiations to divorce her and take another wife. In despair she sings, with her child in her arms:

poɭjoɯ-ɲoɪlkj	æɪfɯnum
oɪɪoɯ-foɲt	æɪfɯnum

"We have become ashamed before the poɭjoɯ, we have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪɪoɯ." Previously she has said that her father is to be told that the girl child was rejected as an unsuitable offspring and she, the wife, as an unsuitable wife, and all the Todas (by furthering the divorce) have come to be against her. So their treatment has caused them shame before all the Todas. Again, poɭjoɯ and oɪɪoɯ seem to have no pertinence except as referring to the whole tribe conventionally when shame is to be spoken of. And again we feel that the poɭjoɯ relation between mother and daughter is perhaps in point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it.

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

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The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

nɑ̈lkonɯsk	sydj-mïl-sydj	pɯɻɯθïk		
poʃjoɯ̈-xoɪɲjm	oɪtoɯ̈-foɲt	öštjɯɖoɪ	ɯdɯθïk	
om arjeɲ	eŋk öštoθ	sotj-moɪɖkin	ɯdɯθɯŋ	noɪɲɯsfɯn

"You sent message after message to the mund omgɑɪs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poʃjoɯ̈.' Noɪɲɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poʃjoɯ̈, oɪtoɯ̈ is used as demanded by convention, as is also poɲt "word," but to fit the pertinent word poʃjoɯ̈ (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪɲjm,[23] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪtoɯ̈-foɲt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, noɪɲɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poʃjoɯ̈, is to be explained.

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On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poʃjoɯ̈, oɪtoɯ̈ did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poʃjoɯ̈, oɪtoɯ̈ may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

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It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪɲɯs to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[23] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him, [otherwise] there are no objections. (Emeneau, 1937, p. 105) 114 602 614

Emeneau's examples are clear enough. In fact, he also provides internal and conclusive evidence that the Toda disagree with him. About the use of the term *puliol* he says, in a later work (1941, p. 171): "Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and this branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before the matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way." And, he goes on, "we feel that the pūliol (Rivers' spelling) relation between mother and daughter is perhaps is point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it." In fact, the Toda merely say that *puliol* includes all the relatives without reference to matri-sib.

The matter is not really very complicated. Emeneau comes surprisingly near but entirely misses the point. He notes (1937, p. 106) that the semantics of the word *puliol* means "man of the puli or palli," but, saying that "will not explain our word," he goes off in an entirely different direction trying to find exogamous "houses." In fact, the semantics are quite eloquent: *puliol* are the people who are sacred like the *palli* (dairy)—that is, no "entrance" is permitted. They are precisely all the prohibited categories of kin; hence the term appears to stand opposed to *paiol* or "affines." Rivers does not juxtapose the two but makes the meaning of *paiol* abundantly clear in his treatment of Toda funerals (e.g., 1906, p. 358). The *paiol* (pp. 450, 459) are precisely the persons such as MB (or father-in-law), cross-cousins, ZS (or son-in-law) whom Dumont (1957*b*) has singled out as "affines." 114 602 196

Hence we see in the Toda case that Dumont's highly interesting structural juxtaposition of "kin vs. affine" is noted and culturally recognized by the Toda themselves in the opposition of *puliol* or *paliol* vs. *paiol*, or kin/affine. 114 602

It seems clear that what Rivers wrote in 1906 accords well with some of the best recent analyses of South Indian kin structures. Whatever we finally arrive at as the real meaning of the term *puliol*, we

[8] Prince Peter of Greece in a very interesting paper also notes these semantics and links the *puliol* with prohibited categories of kin which he describes, following Emeneau, as "matrilineal sibs." Yet the line of argument from the prohibition of sexual relations between children suckled by one mother to "matrilineal sib" is by no means clear. The Sinhalese, too, have similar ideas on milk kinship" (see above, p. 159) without corporate matrilineages. The evidence for "sibs" such as names which connote obscenity, joking, and simple myths seems curiously meager. This case, too, really rests on the sexual prohibitions which, as we have argued, permit interpretations of a nonlineal kind. I came across this material too late to incorporate it into the chapter. See Peter, Prince of Greece (1951). 614